LABOUR MONTHLY

EDITOR R. PALME DUTT

NOTES OF THE MONTH R.P.D.

PROSPECTS FOR 1945—SYMPOSIUM
- Earl Browder
- Dr. Drago Marusic
- Colonel Rodrigo Gil
- Gustav Beuer
- S. A Dange
- Will Lawther
- R. Coppock
- Alfred W. Burrows
- Harry Adams

LESSONS OF THE LABOUR CONFERENCE Harry Pollitt

GREEK FIRE Ivor Montagu

PROSPECTS FOR 1945

6D

JANUARY 1945

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vol XXVII. No. 1

CONTENTS

January, 1945

Page

Notes of the Month—*Year of Victory and Liberation* by R. P. D. 1

Prospects for 1945—Symposium—

EARL BROWDER (by cable from U.S.A.) 9

DR. DRAGO MARUSIC (Deputy Premier, Yugoslav Government) 9

COLONEL RODRIGO GIL 12

GUSTAV BEUER (Former Member of the Czechoslovak Parliament) 13

S. A. DANGE (President of the All-Indian Trades Union Congress) 15

WILL LAWTHER (President, Miners Federation of Great Britain) 17

R. COPPOCK (General Secretary, National Federation of Building Trade Operatives) 18

ALFRED W. BURROWS (Organising Secretary, National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers) 19

HARRY ADAMS (President, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers) 20

Lessons of the Labour Conference by HARRY POLLITT 22

Greek Fire by IVOR MONTAGU 28

PLANNING FOR 1945

During 1945 the LABOUR MONTHLY will enter on its twenty-fifth year of continuous publication. Month by month, this journal has given political expression on the problems of our period, from the days following the end of the last war to the present approaching climax of the war against fascism.

Never, in all these years, have we approached any so fateful and decisive for the whole future as this coming year.

The war has placed heavy material restrictions on all periodicals. They have fallen with special weight on LABOUR MONTHLY: for we have to meet a great increase in public demand with an extremely restricted supply. To spread out our limited supply over a maximum number of readers, we adopted a format and size of type and light-weight paper (it has to be coloured) as must inevitably be a trial to our readers. As soon as conditions permit, however, there will be a rapid expansion.

We believe that in the coming year there will be greater need than ever for such a journal as LABOUR MONTHLY. But meantime, with increased costs and a limited and non-expanding income, we have to depend on donations from readers as an essential basis for the magazine.

We appreciate the help that has been given.

So far, in these war years, our readers have kept the fund going, either at the hundred pounds monthly that is required or a little below it. But in recent months there has been a disquieting drop in the figures of the Fund: and the means by which we met

Continued on page III. of cover

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTES OF THE MONTH

Prospects for 1945—Urgent New Issues—Labour Conference Lessons—Drawing the Balance-sheet—Achievements of 1944—Advance of Liberation—First Steps to World Organisation—Working-class Unity—Towards a United Trade Union International—Negative Aspects—War Comes First—War and Politics—Belgium and Greece—Suicidal Policy—Nazi Offensive in Belgium—Greece and Yugoslavia—Military Consequences—Nazi Divisions Switched—United Nations and Germany—Anglo-American Relations—India and the Far East—Chinese Turning Point—British Political Situation—For Unity in 1945.

WITH 1945 we are entering the decisive year, not only of the war, but of the whole future of modern world development. In subsequent pages we print a number of contributions from leading personalities of this country and other countries on the prospects of the coming year. In broad outline there is the widest agreement on the immediate aims before us. First, military victory over Nazism. Second, a settlement in Europe which will end German domination and close the doors to Nazi or reactionary revival in Germany, and ensure the free democratic development of the European States. Third, the moral and political destruction of fascism and its supporters in the liberated countries, and establishment of strong representative democratic Governments. Fourth, the launching of world organisation for the maintenance of peace and co-operation in reconstruction. Fifth, extension of the aims of liberation to the Far East, and speeding of the war in the Far East for these aims. Sixth, popular victory in the coming elections in Britain to establish a Government which will ensure Britain's progressive role in the new era of fascist defeat and democratic victory, and which will carry through the far-reaching economic and social changes now urgently necessary in Britain. These are the weighty issues of the coming year. How far are we prepared for their successful fulfilment?

AS soon as we pass from broad general aims to the immediate current decisions and actions necessary for the fulfilment of these aims, the sharpness of the problems now requiring solution is manifest. With the confident certainty in the prospect of military victory in Europe in the coming year, with the growing strength and consolidation of the world alliance, with the growing strength of the popular forces all over the world, the struggle does not grow less intense, but more intense, and will grow still more intense, in new shapes and forms, with every advance of the people. Recent events in Greece have cast a threatening shadow across the close of the year, and brought into the forefront the menace of reactionary policy cutting across the aims of liberation. The parliamentary debate on Poland has shown the extent of the old Munichite voices still clamouring in this obsolete Parliament. Anglo-American economic issues are acute, and failure of settlement could begin to undermine the foundations of the alliance. There is no step yet towards solution in India, and the situation in China is menacing. These are only a few of the sharp problems in the international sphere requiring settlement, not only for the achievement of victory in the war, but

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the success of the post-war aims of the United Nations.

IN domestic policy the delays on housing, the clumsy handling of the change-over in industry and of redundancy, and the inadequacy of the reconstruction measures brought forward by the Government, have given rise to widespread concern. The proceedings of the Labour Party Conference have demonstrated the militancy of the membership of the labour movement, notably over Greece, India and the amendment for public ownership. But they have also shown the divisions of policy and leadership; the considerable cross-purposes on the question of Germany and the post-war settlement; and, above all, the complete tactical unpreparedness of the left for the practical conditions of the coming election. This tactical unpreparedness and disunity, unless corrected in the few months between now and the election, could throw a question-mark on the prospective outcome of the election, and consequently on the whole post-war prospect for Britain.

THERE is thus no room for empty easy-going optimism on the prospects of the coming year. There is no guaranteed automatic path forward. The great gains which have already been won, the complete transformation of the world situation from the lowest point of Munich only six years ago to the present brilliant prospect for the final defeat of fascism and extending democratic liberation and world co-operation, have only been won at the cost of heavy sacrifices and struggles. Every step further forward will have to be won in the face of heavy obstacles and resistance, requiring the most unbreakable unity and skilful leadership of the popular forces. Hence, at the opening of this crucial year, in the midst of the sharp and many-sided problems of a complex situation, which admits of no parallel with any previous type of world situation, it will not be out of place to attempt to draw up the balance of where we stand and the next steps forward to the realisation of our aims.

BEFORE coming to the prospects of 1945, it is worth reviewing the achievements of 1944. For 1944 has shown a big achievement. The first twelve months since the landmark of the Teheran agreement of Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States, for joint war and post-war action have yielded their harvest. In the first place, the whole face of the war has been changed by the combined military offensive agreed at Teheran. The Second Front has been opened. Allied armies stand on the soil of Germany from the West and from the East. The Soviet Union has been cleared of the invader. Germany's satellites are gone. All the conditions are preparing for the final offensive.

SECOND, the liberation of Europe has begun. France and Belgium are free of Nazi rule. The Balkans are nearly completely cleared. In varying degree liberation is extending over Poland, Czechoslovakia, Holland and northernmost Norway. Franco's position is shaking. Liberation has been accompanied by an enormous advance of the popular forces. New democratic Governments with communist participation have been established in eleven European countries during the past half year: France, Italy, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland, Iceland; provisional forms in Poland and Czechoslovakia and—until the recent events and change of government—Belgium and Greece; and although in the two latter countries, under British military occupation, the position has been changed by direct military intervention from outside, this temporary forced interruption, which raises grave issues, emphasises

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than cancels out the general trend and the unmistakable general advance achieved.

THIRD, the framework for world political organisation for the maintenance of peace has been prepared in the Dumbarton Oaks plan. This plan translates into concrete shape the aims of the Teheran agreement, and makes a signal advance on the defects of the old League of Nations. The Franco-Soviet Twenty Year Treaty, following the British-Soviet and Czech-Soviet Treaties, strengthens the organisation of peace in Europe, and defeats reactionary plans for a separate Western Bloc. The re-election of President Roosevelt has consolidated American support for long-term participation in the world alliance, dealt a blow to the isolationists and reactionaries in the anti-Roosevelt camp, and brought into the forefront the emergence of the progressive labour movement in the United States as a political force. Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow in October, and his statement on Poland in December, mark an important step forward, both in practical co-operation for the war, and towards closer agreement on the settlement of Europe, including the Polish issue, and the future of Germany. The Bretton Woods agreement of the experts earlier in the year, for an International Monetary Fund and for an International Bank for reconstruction and development, has prepared the ground for international economic co-operation.

FOURTH, working-class unity has achieved signal advance, despite the still continuing resistance of the anti-unity Bourbons of the labour movement in the Labour Party Executive and the American Federation of Labour. In the European countries socialist-communist co-operation has been built up in the common resistance against fascism. In Slovakia the social democratic and communist parties have been merged in a single working-class party. Trade Union unification has been carried forward, including, in many cases, formerly separate Catholic Trade Unions. International working-class unity has been placed on the order of the day by the co-operation of the British-Soviet Trade Union Committee, and by the work of the Preparatory Committee, based on the British Trades Union Congress, the Soviet Trade Union Council and the American Congress of Industrial Organisations, convening the World Trade Union Conference for February, 1945.

THE meeting of the World Trade Union Conference will constitute a gathering of the world working-class without parallel in the entire history of the labour movement; assembling the delegates of fifty million organised workers, of every nation, race and colour, without distinction of political outlook, within the broad aims of the working-class movement and the common struggle against fascism. Here is the foundation for international working-class co-operation, in forms corresponding to the needs and conditions of the present period, and capable of exercising an important influence on the post-war settlement and the post-war world.

SUCH are the great positive achievements of the year that followed on Teheran. At the same time, the negative aspects need to be clearly seen; for they point the way to what we need to accomplish in the coming year. In relation to the war the exaggerated expectations spread by leading Anglo-American circles during the late summer and autumn, based on the speed of advance, following the brilliant break-through in Normandy, over the whole of France and Belgium (where the ground had been in great part prepared by the resistance

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movements, and where in some cases important towns could be taken by a couple of press correspondents arriving in advance of the allied armies and finding the towns handed over to them as representatives of the Allies by the resistance movements already in control) has given rise to a certain shock of disillusionment as the tougher struggle in front begins to be more correctly understood. General Eisenhower's grave statements on shell shortage have indicated either a certain miscalculation of the character of the fighting that would be necessary (over-estimation of the efficacy of bombing and under-estimation of artillery), or a too rapid slackening, closing of war orders and reconversion in war industry. Civilian opinion, induced to believe by the fantastic semi-official and press propaganda that the war was as good as won, has been switched almost entirely to post-war questions; so that, for example, in the Labour Party Conference the war hardly figured as a serious issue. The new Nazi counter-offensive has delivered a shock to this blindness.

WITH the opening of 1945 the supreme allied offensive from the east and from the west for final victory is due to be launched. This offensive overshadows every other issue. The main task of 1945, to which every other is subordinate, is victory over Nazi Germany. There is no room for under-estimation of this task, or of the character of "the fiercest and largest battles fought in this war" which Mr. Churchill in his speech of December 15 indicated may be expected to "occupy the spring and summer" of 1945.

BUT the military tasks of the defeat of Nazi Germany, especially in the closing stages of the war, cannot be separated from the political. The closing months of 1944 have revealed grave issues here which have occupied the forefront of attention. They have shown that the urgent questions of allied policy in liberated Europe, and especially in relation to the democratic anti-fascist liberation movements, need clarification and better handling if we are to avoid in 1945 the repetition of the errors of 1944 on a still more dangerous scale. There has been an important positive advance during 1944, with the abandonment of the ill-conceived Amgot plans, the measure of recognition of the democratic forces, the speed of independent development in France and recognition of the French Provisional Government, the degree of democratic advance in Italy, and the full recognition of the leadership of the National Liberation movement in Jugoslavia.

EVENTS in Belgium and Greece, however, have shown the reverse side of the shield. They have shown that there are still prevalent the remains of the reactionary tendencies which substitute a sectional class outlook for the interests of the war of the United Nations against Germany, and in consequence look upon the fighting popular anti-fascist forces, not as allies to be supported and strengthened, but as "rabble" to be disarmed and broken up, and prefer to build on the "respectable" people, that is, the wealthy industrialists, bankers and collaborators who were the mainstay of Nazism or opponents of active resistance, and who are now only interested in protecting their own positions and fortunes, built up under Nazi rule, against the people.

IN those countries where armed clashes have occurred between the allied occupying forces and the patriotic armed forces of the people, the underlying issue has always been, not simply the formal issue of disarming the patriotic formations (there has always been readiness to integrate

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these armed formations in the national army, and the example of France, where the counter-revolutionary plots have so far been held in check, has shown how this can be done), but the crucial issue of clearing out the fifth column and agents of Nazism and actively prosecuting the war against the fascist enemy. This is the issue which is falsely presented as if it were a normal peacetime problem of demobilising the patriotic armed formations after the war is won, when in fact the war has not yet been won, when the fascist agents have not been cleared out, but occupy commanding positions (like the Commander of the Mountain Brigade, who was Minister of War in the first Quisling Government in Athens), and when the fascist-controlled armed formations have not been dissolved. Under these conditions to demand the demobilisation of the patriotic and anti-fascist armed formations is to demand to hand over the people disarmed to the mercy of the collaborators and fascist agents and their plots, and to facilitate Hitler's aims.

IT is no accident that a Pierlot, who originally advocated a Petain policy for Belgium and hesitated for months before coming to London, who set up the bankers' committee to collaborate with the Nazis in Belgium, and who used his influence in London to oppose the R.A.F. bombing the properties of wealthy Belgian industrialists, should return to Belgium to protect the interests of the wealthy collaborators and should oppose the demand of the Belgian Communists and resistance movement for the mobilisation of Belgium to take part in the war of the United Nations against Germany. What is not tolerable is that allied arms should be used, with an ultimatum to the patriotic forces, to maintain by outside pressure the policy of such a Government governing by emergency decree against the people, for purposes contrary to the interests of the United Nations, and to hinder the formation of a popular anti-fascist government, based on the popular parties and resistance movement, which could ensure a more effective participation of Belgium in the war. The recent Nazi counter-offensive, endeavouring to thrust into Southern Belgium, may yet drive home the need for this and the importance of allied commanders recognising who are their friends. This has been further emphasised by the offer of Demany on behalf of the Belgian resistance movement to remobilise their forces to co-operate with the Allied Command.

SIMILARLY, it is no accident that Papandreou, who lived peaceably in Athens under Nazi rule without participation in the patriotic resistance movement of the people, who returned to Athens with British armed forces to take over after Greece was already liberated and completely orderly and peaceful under the control of the National Liberation Movement, and who is at the moment of writing only able to maintain his "Government" on a few square yards of territory behind barbed wire, by the protection of foreign arms, tanks, warships and bombing planes against the people, should come out with fiery demands for a foreign policy directed, not against Nazi Germany, but against Jugoslavia, for a "Greater Greece" and the incorporation of Macedonia, so that the Jugoslav leading newspaper *Borba* has found it necessary to issue the warning:—

> The victory of Papandreou would be the victory of a fascist minority which wants a clash in the Balkans and a so-called "Greater Greece." The Jugoslav people know well that the heroic resistance of the Greek people is a pledge for the future of the Balkans. A victory for the Greek people would mean a victory for peace and a happy life in the Balkans.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Once again the issue is no mere internal question of Right and Left (still less, of fantastic "Red plot" inventions dished out in exact repetition of the Goebbels technique against the liberation movements), but of the vital interests of the United Nations.

WHAT are the military consequences of this disastrous policy? Armed forces, which are required for the fight against Hitler, are withdrawn from Italy or elsewhere to Greece, not to fight the German forces still entrenched in the Aegean, but to fight the anti-fascists on the Greek mainland, where there are no Germans. This makes no conceivable sense from the standpoint of the war against Nazi Germany; it only makes sense from a standpoint which puts the interests of class warfare before the interests of the war against Germany. The Allied Supreme Commander in the Mediterranean is ordered to concentrate his attention, not against the Nazis, but on full war operations against the anti-fascists in Greece, the same soldiers whom the Nazis have been fighting for the past three years.

BUT the consequences extend further. The front in Italy is thereby weakened. The deeper the imbroglio in Greece, as the original miscalculation of a supposed rapid police operation is exposed and replaced by the recognition of full-scale war against the Greek people, more reinforcements are demanded to be sent to Greece, more arms, more ships, more men, all withdrawn from the fight against Hitler. Thereby the Nazis are freed to remove divisions from the Italian front, and to send them to the decisive Eastern front. Already an official Soviet statement in the middle of December called attention to the fact that there are now 220 enemy divisions, including 200 German divisions, on the Soviet-German front, and that during October and November 32 German divisions have been transferred from other fronts, including Italy, to the Soviet-German front. Grave military consequences can follow from an incorrect political policy. There is urgent need for the British people to correct the disastrous policy at present pursued in Greece. The aims of the war for the military defeat of Nazism must necessarily include the political destruction of fascism in all countries; there can be no separation between the two.

THIRD, in the sphere of international relations there are important questions still requiring to be settled, and awaiting the projected meeting of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. These include, not only current questions, both military and political, but also urgent questions of the future settlement, including the completion of the Dumbarton Oaks plan for world security, and the carrying forward of the measure of agreement already reached with regard to the treatment of Germany. On the issue of Germany the still considerable confusion of public opinion was demonstrated in the proceedings of the Labour Party Conference, where many delegates, living in the world of a quarter of a century ago, appeared to imagine they were carrying on a progressive fight on behalf of an ill-treated and victimised Germany against a Clemenceau or a Poincaré, and failed to see that their impassioned appeals were only serving, not only Nazi interests, but the policy of the most reactionary monopolist sections and Munichite Toryism in this country, which aim to save the interests of their old partners of German big industry and high finance and reaction against the wrath of the anti-fascist peoples of Europe. The question of Germany includes also immediate present policy. While the Free Germany National Committee, based on

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the prisoners of war in the Soviet Union, is extending its authority and influence to mobilise the opposition to Hitler inside Germany, and has now its counterpart in France, it has no counterpart yet in Britain and the United States to co-ordinate a common drive; here there is still no systematic anti-fascist propaganda in the *prisoners-of-war camps, which remain* centres of legal Nazi propaganda and organisation on United Nations territory.

A WARNING note needs also to be sounded on some tendencies in the present phase of Anglo-American relations. The difficulties of the Civil Aviation Conference and inability to reach agreement on some of the major issues of controversy; the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee's turning down of the Anglo-American oil agreement, which had been intended as a model for similar agreement in relation to other commodities; the hostile voices on both sides in relation to the Bretton Woods agreement; and the sharp questions raised on both sides in relation to exports and the share in the future world market, are premonitory rumblings of the conflict of powerful monopolist interests in the economic sphere. These differences have their reflection in the political and diplomatic field, where the controversy around the Stettinius declaration has called sharp attention to divergences of policy. While these particular differences on specific questions do not prevent the basic co-operation on the main present tasks, the unchecked development of cut-throat economic competition between the two leading capitalist Powers in the post-war world could wreck the long-term aims of international co-operation. Hence the importance, as emphasised by Earl Browder in his contribution this month, of seeking paths of compromise and agreed governmental policy on these issues, and strengthening the fight for international economic co-operation.

THE fourth sphere of weakness, where relatively little progress on the main problems has been achieved in the past year, and which will press for more active attention in the coming year, lies in the Far Eastern situation. Here the difficult military problems are not only bound up with, but almost overshadowed by the political problems, in relation to the internal situation in China, the internal situation in India, and the future of Burma and the other countries occupied by Japanese aggression. The aims of liberation clearly set out for Europe have never been set out for the war in the Far East. In India, the natural partner of China in the fight for democratic freedom in Asia, and the gigantic potential democratic Power of the Eastern world, the prison gates are still closed on foremost anti-fascist fighters, and the sterile policy of repression and artificial deadlock continues. Here the resolution of the Labour Party Conference, following that of the Trades Union Congress, is a welcome sign of the awakening of the labour movement to its responsibility on this issue.

IN China the beginnings of reforms in the Chungking Government and the negotiations with the Communists hold out some hopes of an improvement in the situation. But the gravity of the position, both economic and military, is great, with the recent Japanese advance; the arms blockade of the border regions, which have borne the main brunt of the active fighting against the Japanese, is not yet lifted; and the reactionary and capitulatory tendencies within the Chungking regime have still to be overcome. There is, however, increasingly open recognition of the urgency of the position in British and American opinion and expression,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which can have its influence in assisting the progressive national forces in China towards the aims of national unification, democratic development, co-operation of Chungking and the Communists, and full mobilisation against Japan.

FINALLY, and of pivotal importance, is the political situation in Britain, with special reference to the role of the labour movement. The reactionary tendencies which have caused disquiet over certain recent aspects of British policy, as over Belgium and Greece, as well as the increasingly aggressive line of the reactionary forces on many domestic questions, shown notably over land policy, town planning and housing, would not have been possible had there been the active positive role of a united labour movement leading majority progressive opinion and mass campaigning pressure to influence the policy of the Government. Here Britain reveals an exception to the other European countries engaged in the anti-fascist struggle, where former divisions have been bridged and socialist-communist unity achieved.

THE Labour Party Conference, while revealing welcome signs of increased militancy and confidence, and adopting many important decisions on policy, failed on this main issue of unity, which governs every other; failed to rise to its responsibility of rallying and uniting all the labour and progressive forces of the country, within the conditions of national unity today, to exercise its effective pressure on the policy of the Government, and to ensure a parliamentary majority at the coming elections next year as the basis for a new and representative Government of the people in the critical era following victory over fascism in Europe. This failure has to be made good in the coming year. We are entering on the decisive year of modern world development. To grapple successfully with its tasks we shall need the fullest unity and strength of all the progressive forces of this country and of the entire world.

R. P. D.

December 18, 1944.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.

The articles in the LABOUR MONTHLY are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals, New York City, U.S.A., as well as in the annual index in each December issue.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: United Kingdom, 12 *months* 7*s. Postage paid. Abroad,* 8*s. Two weeks' notice is required for change of address.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prospects for 1945

(Under this heading we print a symposium contributed by leading personalities of this and other countries—Ed. L.M.)

EARL BROWDER

(By Cable) NEW YORK, 13*th December.*

THE year 1945 places the task before the United Nations to finish the Nazis in Europe, to establish as a minimum guarantees at least for a quick finish to Japanese imperialism and to lay solid foundations for a permanent world organisation for peace and prosperity.

This can be accomplished by further building on the foundations laid at Teheran one year ago and by no other way. The world family of nations can be achieved only under the united leadership of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States and by means of policies equally acceptable to the three leading powers.

As I see it, the most difficult unsolved immediate problem which hinders advance in all fields is that of Anglo-American rivalry in relation to the post-war markets. Further development of this rivalry hinders the solution of all military and political problems of the war and threatens to disrupt favourable post-war perspectives.

American insistence on the principle of free competition in free markets without any overall controlling agreements which would guarantee to Britain a proportionate share of markets is now the main obstacle: the solution to which is being made more difficult by shortsighted British measures to meet this threat of American competition.

Unless America offers binding economic agreements acceptable to Britain and Britain in turn abandons restrictive and backward-looking policies regarding colonies and liberated lands, then the world will have new and sharper crises in 1945. If America and Britain resolutely call a halt to the present tendency of sharpening rivalry and contradictions, and wholeheartedly co-operate with the Soviet Union, then 1945 will witness great strides toward world reconstruction for peace and the wellbeing of all peoples.

Dr. DRAGO MARUŠIČ

(Deputy Premier of the Royal Yugoslav Government)

IT is difficult to foresee and outline coming events. Most people, when doing so, express rather their wishes than any conviction of certainty that events will shape as they have prophesied. Nevertheless, past experience can indicate the main line of development of events. Thus it is possible to discern the direction which the normal line of future development is likely to take, and also to assess what effect this will have on the lives of mankind as a whole, and on the fortunes of individual nations.

The factors which will shape coming events are at the present juncture largely dependent on the war.

Victory in Europe will surely be achieved by 1945. It will then be necessary without delay to start the organisation of peace. The organisation of peace does not mean merely the cessation of the struggle against the enemy on the field of battle. It is not merely a return to "normal" life, as lived before the war. No; it means rather leading mankind on to a new road, a better and more attractive road, in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

order to ensure that coming generations may be spared those horrors of war which we are at present undergoing.

There is almost unanimity on what the "new order" should *not* be like; considerable divergences of opinion only appear when we come to defining the concrete details of the new world organisation we must build. But still, when we examine the active spiritual factors involved, we can at least outline the kind of life for which the nations of the world are yearning.

This war, involving the whole world, with two diametrically opposed ideologies engaged in a life and death struggle, has accelerated political evolution far more than the greatest of revolutions could have done.

The first salient fact of the war is that all freedom-loving nations have been drawn together, not only politically, but also in sentiment, spiritually. It is of enormous importance that we have all become better acquainted with the Soviet Union—not merely with its vast economic reserves, or its human dynamism, but also with its outstanding human qualities. If there were some before this war who regarded the Soviet Union as a semi-Asiatic country, tainted with atavistic barbarism, they are surely convinced today that the peoples of the Soviet Union are among the great civilised, progressive nations.

Moreover, the peoples of the Soviet Union have been brought closer to us as human beings of outstanding moral qualities — courage, self-sacrifice, generosity and patriotism. Thus we have come to understand the superhuman efforts made by the peoples of the Soviet Union during both peace and war, and it is now clear to everybody that, without the great Russian October Revolution, it is most doubtful whether we could have achieved victory over Nazi-fascism.

By this both political and spiritual rapprochement of all nations, the Nazi theory of racialism has been defeated. The true meaning of nationalism has also been understood—*to love what is one's own, and to respect that which belongs to others;* not "my country, right or wrong" but, on the contrary, the conviction that "my country" will benefit only when its policy is right, with the converse conviction that to defend a false policy for one's country is only to harm it.

On such principles alone—the principle of respecting the various individual ways of other nations; the principle of seeking an honest policy, based on ethics, to shape mutual relations; the principle that all nations should consciously, willingly, lend each other their material and their moral support —only thus can a lasting collaboration between the nations of the world be achieved.

Turning to Yugoslavia, we see peoples who, during their four-year Calvary, have experienced the full meaning of racialism, the meaning of falsely-conceived nationalism and of the resultant imperialism. Moreover, the peoples of Yugoslavia have learned to judge other nations and individuals, not by their words—but by their deeds. (They would, indeed, desire to be judged in the same way themselves.)

Through its geographical position, and the qualities of its peoples, Yugoslavia will form the perfect link between East and West, for Yugoslavia belongs equally to East and West. The peoples of Yugoslavia earnestly hope that other nations will take all this into due consideration.

Furthermore, the Yugoslav peoples also most earnestly desire, at last, to have joined with them in one State all their kindred who form the solid population of territory adjoining the former Yugoslav State. Thus Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter will be

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fulfilled, and as a result Yugoslavia in Trieste will at last possess its key-port. Trieste is indeed also one of the natural prerequisites—an essential pre-requisite—for Yugoslavia's industrial and general economic development. With Trieste, Yugoslavia can become truly a fair partner to other nations in the development of the common progress of mankind.

I am treating this question of Trieste both from the economic and the ethical point of view. I think that we have to bear in mind that ideals of international collaboration and international ethics are perhaps more keenly felt in those countries which have had the misfortune to suffer direct German occupation. If we understand this it may be possible to avoid much painful misunderstanding and disillusionment. This applies not only to Yugoslavia, but equally to Greece and any other liberated country.

The second salient fact of this "total" war—fully developed for the first time in history—is that all sections of the population have participated in it—men, women, children, young and old.

But it is a fundamental truth, shown in this war, that even though all men may share in the sacrifice, the biggest contribution is that made by ordinary, humble men. That is why it is among them that we find most fully developed the sense of human solidarity, the sense of collectivity, the sense of a brotherhood of nations which should surpass all frontiers, and the conviction that only with these qualities can they best serve mankind as a whole. This factor will have to influence events in the post-war period, if we are not to see those who have given most, cheated of their just reward.

The fight for Democracy is, in other words, the fight for the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter. But before all else the little man above all needs *freedom from want*, for only if he is economically independent can he enjoy and make full use of the other freedoms.

Peace will therefore strengthen the sense of solidarity. A basis for co-operation will then have to be created, a co-operative system in economic life will have to be fostered, and general education truly free and accessible at all levels according to individual ability must be available at the public cost to all who can profit by it, for if that is done, class distinctions will gradually but inevitably be removed.

These, in my opinion, are the principles on which post-war organisation of peace must be begun. The reconstruction of all war-ravaged countries by international effort—the economic relations between the various nations —will have to be based, not on spheres of interest for individual powers, but on the spirit of collaboration. There must be social security, with radical social reforms such as will guarantee freedom to the working-class. International cultural bonds must be established, customs and other artificial barriers between the nations must be abolished. These are characteristic details of that general conception of post-war relations between the nations which has taken deep root in the heart of the peoples during this war.

If that general conception is properly implemented—I trust it may be —we can, despite all our immediate difficulties, look hopefully and confidently into the year 1945. Victory over evil will be complete, only if that which is good and noble in man is at last enabled to triumph.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COLONEL RODRIGO GIL

THE end of the year 1944 sees the world in great confusion. However, the Spanish people have arrived at certain decisions so unequivocal that they allow us to indicate the immediate prospects for their country.

Quite recently public opinion here has been confronted with a fresh factor in Spanish politics. Suggestions have appeared, encouraged in the British press, that Franco must be removed, but without running any risk of another civil war. Now in Spain this is just the season when the theatres put on pantomimes, full of magic and miracles, to amuse the children. This new tendency in the attitude to Spanish politics is to us Spaniards highly suggestive of a pantomime transformation scene, perhaps as *naif* as those they show at home. The trick is always easy enough to see through. In this case it consists in the vanishing of one dictator and the substitution of another before the eyes of the suffering enslaved people of Spain. But although this Christmas comedy may be staged and carried through, no one will be able to prevent the Spanish people bringing to an end in 1945 the tragedy they have been living since 1936.

For them the coming year holds a great task of self-liberation. To enable them to fulfil this task they have in their favour all the subjective conditions and most of the objective. As to the former, the situation is that Spaniards, united within Spain, and excluding none but the accomplices of Hitler Germany, have a programme of unity and democracy, a national, constructive programme, the only one possible in the conditions of struggle against Spanish fascism; they also have a resistance movement which extends throughout the country, directed by the Supreme Junta of National Union; this embraces all patriots and possesses a vanguard steeled by suffering and struggle, including the thousands of guerillas who do battle every day against the troops of Franco. Last, and above all, they have their passionate love of liberty and independence.

Chief among the objective factors which favour the purpose of the Spanish people is the total failure of the fascist system. Fascism in Spain has not only failed to win over the people, but has made itself hateful to all that is genuinely national in the country Of no less importance to the Spanish people are the friendship and sympathy of the free peoples of the world, and their wish that the Spaniards should see an end of their torture and misery, and once more enjoy their freedom.

In the face of this, any pantomime transformation scene would necessarily be of short duration. There will not be much time to spare in 1945 for performing comedies and carrying on intrigues behind the backs of the people. It is as well that it should be known—if there is still time—that in Spain such a farce would be dangerous and its repercussions in the world considerable, because of the attention which is focused upon that country.

In 1945 the Spanish people will achieve their freedom. Great tasks and responsibilities lie before us. The first will be the organisation of the new Spanish State under a democratic regime of order, peace and internal harmony; the destruction of the bases upon which fascism rested; the plucking-up of every root from which the accursed Falange might spring again.

Among the concrete problems with which this policy will confront the Spanish people is the solution of the agrarian question: the doing away with the semi-feudal system of land tenure, which is the cause of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

poverty of most of the Spanish people, and the origin of all reactionary movements.

There is also the democratisation of the army. On being purged of Falangism it will have to be reorganised so as to form a weapon on which the Liberal State can rely, recovering those progressive traditions which have honoured its history.

The problem of nationalities in Spain will also require to be resolved in a spirit of fraternity and mutual trust. Such is the only means by which the union of Basques, Catalans, and the other peoples of Spain may be fruitful and positive, in contrast with the sterility of the union enforced by Falangism by means of oppression and terror.

In 1945 Spain will return to her Republican regime, but bettered and purified after the correction of its errors. Spain will take her place in the community of the United Nations and play the great part that lies before her because of her community of language and ties of blood with the nations of Latin America, her great traditions, and, above all, because the Spanish people have proved beyond all doubts that they are faithful upholders of freedom and of all progressive ideas.

Such is the firm resolve of all Spaniards, so that 1945 may see not only the Allied victory over Hitlerism but the triumph of the people of Spain over the offshoot of Hitlerism in their country.

The aims of the Spaniards are one with those of the rest of the progressive world. By helping us to achieve them without delay, liberal-minded people of Great Britain will at the same time be helping to ensure the finality of their own victory.

GUSTAV BEUER

(Former Member of the Czechoslovak Parliament)

THE New Year may still be young when the whole of Czechoslovakia is set free. Moreover, for her peoples the firm hope is justified that, in the course of the year, they will be able to make great achievements in re-establishing the democratic Republic on new foundations. All Czechoslovak patriots, irrespective of their political creed and outlook, unanimously hold the view that the peoples of Czechoslovakia must be spared the ordeals which the peoples of Belgium and Greece had to face. Their hopes and aspirations are based upon new conditions and new relations which have been brought about in the common struggle for the liberation of our country.

All sections of the Czechoslovak Liberation Movement are agreed that national unity, cemented with the blood of tens of thousands of patriots, must continue after the war. Today it comprises all patriotic parties and groupings representing the overwhelming majority of the Czech, Slovak and Carpatho-Ukrainian peoples. The Slovak national uprising has revealed to all sections of the National Front the outstanding part which the working-class are playing in the struggle for liberation. As a matter of fact, working-class unity has proved on the battlefield as well as in the new democratic administration to be the backbone and driving force of national unity. In Slovakia Communists and Social-Democrats have already formed a united party called, at the explicit desire of the Social-Democrats, the Communist Party of Slovakia. Also, in the other parts of the country, if in different ways, close collaboration of Communists, Social-Democrats and Czech Socialists is developing in the framework of national unity.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What is of decisive importance for the future is the fact that the concept of national unity does not only comprise the tasks concerning the prosecution of the war against Hitlerite Germany. All sections of the National Front, particularly the three Socialist parties, are in the main agreed also upon the far-reaching measures to be taken in the country during the transitional period following its liberation from the Germans. Already there exists an elaborate scheme to safeguard the fruits of national liberation in the economic field. All sections of the National Front are agreed that the new political and administrative machinery should be built up on the basis of national committees elected by the people. As a matter of fact, this great, really democratic scheme has already been put into operation most successfully and smoothly in the Carpatho-Ukraine and the liberated parts of Slovakia. There, newly elected national committees are performing their difficult tasks in full accord with both the Red Army and the representatives of the Czechoslovak Government.

This is clearly indicative of another decisive point. There is no gap between the home forces and the Czechoslovak Government in London. Differences of opinion may arise, but they are discussed and eventually settled in a democratic manner. Thus, when a delegation of the Slovak National Council was in London some weeks ago, agreement was reached on many difficult issues. There is no question of the Czechoslovak Government enforcing itself upon the people. On the contrary, in due time, it will resign and a new government be formed on Czechoslovak soil. Thus, the firm belief is justified that the change-over to democratic conditions will be carried out in an organised manner. Probably very soon after the liberation the people will be in a position to decide, by way of general election, as to the definite economic, social and political structure of the Republic.

On the basis of real democracy Czechoslovakia will definitely solve her main nationality problem—the relations between Czechs, Slovaks and Carpatho-Ukrainians. She will and must be a national State of these three Slav peoples who have fought so courageously for her liberation. They will build up their joint State as free and equal nations.

Thus Czechoslovakia will be the Central European Slav State, most closely allied with the other Slav peoples, particularly the Soviet Union, Yugo-Slavia and a democratic Poland. Slav solidarity and collaboration have proved to be a decisive factor in winning the war: and in the future will be one of the corner-stones of European security. Slav solidarity, therefore, is in full accord with the policy of sincere friendship with the great democratic nations of the West.

Naturally, the Soviet Union is looked upon by all true Czechoslovak patriots as the main liberator of Czechoslovakia. Their dreams of a better future in freedom, independence and security are inseparably linked with the inspiring vision of the closest friendship and collaboration with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. Respecting Czechoslovak sovereignty, strictly according to the letter of the existing treaties, the Red Army are in friendly collaboration with the national Committees and Czechoslovak authorities in liberated territories. This is another firm guarantee that Czechoslovakia will be spared the ordeals of other peoples.

Czechoslovakia will play an important part in building up European security on new foundations. All sections of the National Front are agreed on the very active part our country must take in the efforts to destroy German imperialism and Fascism, not

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only in the field, but also economically, politically and ideologically. Nor is there any doubt about the measures to be taken to annihilate Hitler's Fifth Column on Czechoslovak soil—Henleinism—as well as Czech and Slovak Fascism.

The new Czechoslovakia will also solve her minority problem—the question of the German and Hungarian minorities who have so shamefully acted as instruments of Hitlerism and Horthyism in the destruction of our Republic. Those who have betrayed the Republic and shared in the crimes of the Hitlerites will be punished and expelled from Czechoslovak territory. All others will be given the choice of option either for Czechoslovak or German citizenship. Only those will be allowed to remain in Czechoslovakia who have proved their loyalty towards the Republic. They will not be asked to become Czechs and they will be given full civic rights.

Many hard battles lie ahead until complete liberation is achieved. They will be fought through by the united forces of the Czechoslovak Liberation Movement. They will be fought through by them with the clear vision of the new Czechoslovakia—a Slav peoples' democracy in the heart of Europe.

S. A. DANGE

(*President of the All-India Trade Union Congress*)

THE year 1945 is bound to be the year of the final annihilation of Nazi Germany—no combination of reactionaries, which prevented that event in 1942, can help it.

It will also be the year when the struggle for the liberation of China and the annihilation of Japan will begin in real earnest.

But what prospect does it hold for us in India—the greatest subject nation in the world?

The ordinary man in India has no illusions as to what caused the downfall of Nazi Germany. The granite unity of the people of the Soviet Union under socialist democracy is considered by our people to be the main force that broke the back of Nazi militarism.

We have the greatest love and admiration for the resistance movements of the people of Europe.

And we do not forget the fact of the mighty strength of Britain and America.

But when we see this strength being used to foist reactionary bankers' and landlords' governments on the "liberated" territories, the disarming of the people in the name of the fiction of the ballot box and "constitutional" *emigre* governments of runaway kings and crooks, our people are bound to wonder if annihilation of Nazi Germany in the West and of Fascist Japan in the East does not mean the restoration of the same old rule of the pre-Munich imperialists.

What can you say to such thoughts, quite legitimate, on the part of 400 million people subjected to the worst exploitation of a hundred years?

That history does not repeat itself.

That Darlanism was defeated, that Tito was recognised, that Badoglio was overthrown, that French resistance won, is the failure of the history of 1920, of intervention, to repeat itself.

This was possible because of the *internal* unity of the peoples of the liberated countries and the awakening and external pressure of the working masses in Great Britain and America.

The defeat of Germany would have been impossible if the people had not been mobilised *democratically*. The defeat of Japan has so far been prolonged because of the failure to mobilise *democratically* the people of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

China, of India and the rest of South Asia.

The balance-sheet of five years of the worst Bourbonic rule in India is this: More than four million dead in famine while food rotted in Governments' and landlords' stores, more than 100 million people disabled by disease, a highly conscious working-class sent to work at starvation wages, a hard-working peasantry surrendered to rack-renters and corrupt bureaucrats, the intelligentsia rotting in jails and a bureaucracy revelling in sterling balances and rosy, but empty, post-war reconstruction schemes, while in its front transport is in chaos, industry half in collapse, cost of living 200 per cent. above pre-war, mining women working in pits on 3s. 9d. a week—a nation in sullen and frustrated mood.

With such "resources," 1945 cannot see the defeat of Japan.

But all this is unifying the people of India as never before. A strong Trade Union movement moving the millions, a strong peasant movement, strong political organisations with the democratic backing of the whole people guarantee the defeat of reaction in India too.

The defeat of reaction in the Kuomintang and the move to unity in China will seal the fate of reaction in South Asia too.

But this will be easier if the British working-class were to do its international socialist duty, quickly and without faltering.

It is still dominated by the idea of teaching "backward" nations, that India has none to govern democratically if the British leave it, that the Cripps offer contained the greatest democratic freedom for the people, that the Indians cannot be free because they don't agree among themselves, that the Indian working-class will be exploited by the "native capitalists" (if the European "angels" leave it). It is such ideas that play into the hands of reactionaries, the same monopolists, who grab land, torpedo housing and oppose social security in Britain, and grab other people's lands and bring famine and poverty to India, China, Burma, etc.

The British working-class must unequivocally demand the translation of Teheran into action and declare the freedom of all the subject nations and nationalities, first and foremost of those held by British Imperialism.

Nehru, the well-known patriot, Baba Jan Mohomed, the Weaver of Cawnpore, Ananta-Singh of Chittagong, the beheaded peasant leaders of Kayyur, and the beheaded sixteen-year-old student of Karachi—all demand this of the British working-class.

To do that it must see the issues clearly. It is not merely the freedom of colonies that is in question. Its own future is at stake. Rest assured, Europe has won its liberation and is on the road to not only *political*, but *economic* democracy also. Nothing will stop that. But which way will Britain and America go—to Social Security or Monopolist Reaction?

It depends on the British working-class. And it depends mainly on whether it forces its monopolists to liberate the colonies and allow them to develop as free and prosperous communities.

The key to 1945 *is the British worker—his ideology and his leadership.* I see hope there, and we in India will assist him to it.

The second part of the article by Clemens Dutt on the "French Political Situation" is held over this month for reasons of space. Revised in the light of recent events, it will appear in a later issue.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILL LAWTHER

(President of the Miners' Federation of Gt. Britain)

THIS year now opening we shall win the victory militarily over fascism in Europe. Having won the war we shall then have the problem of winning the peace. Everything in the working-class movement must be devoted first to the victory of war and then to the victory of peace.

The two are linked together: on the conduct of the war now depends much in the peace. To the extent that it remains war against fascism, a democratic war, a war of liberation; to that extent a victory will come soon and be unalloyed with doubts and hesitations for the future.

This is why the labour movement has taken a different standpoint from the Government on the question of Greece and the need of ending an appalling situation which should never have arisen, and whose continuance would have sapped the faith of the peoples of Europe and of our own people in the purposes of the war.

Moreover, the war is not yet won. Not a single ounce of effort, not a single moment, should be distracted from the main purpose of defeating the beast in his lair.

With that defeat the question of what is to be done with Germany will have to be carried out sternly and effectively. On this there is agreement amongst the Allies and there is agreement in the labour movement except for a small section of sentimentalists who seem more concerned about the fate of Germany than about the indescribable sufferings of the millions of victims of the Nazis.

Then there is the question of war criminals; they must be tried and punished—all of them, with no exception, either in Germany or in the other fascist countries. Not only Hitler and Himmler and Goering, but Hess and Mussolini and also the butcher, Franco. Only on this basis will we be certain of going on with the work of routing out Nazism and the influence of fascism in every country.

The building of world security will need to have the backing of the whole of the labour movement, and that political security will need to be buttressed economically by measures of international economic co-operation.

But that international political and economic structure of a new world will not be possible unless it is guaranteed by a sweeping change within each country. Already great resistance movements in Europe give some guarantee of the new democracies which will arise.

We, in our country, must have a new democracy. We must build the foundations of a new Britain in 1945.

There must be houses.

There must be a settlement of the lines of our health services.

There must be an immediate coming into force of the new Education Act. All forms of insurance and the other social services can be quickly made law and put into effect against all the delaying efforts of vested interests if there is a will, and if there is united organisation to back up the people's will. It is for us to see that this is done.

Full employment there must be, not merely a high and stable level of employment. But that full employment cannot be guaranteed without tackling the question of land, fuel and power, banking, etc.

In order to have full employment there must be nationalisation of the key industries and services.

The mining industry is ripe and over-ripe for national ownership. For just on fifty years this had been the demand of the Miners' Federation. Over thirty years ago the miners had put their demand into a Parliamentary

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bill. In the course of the last war that Bill was transformed into one giving a greater measure of control by the workers in a nationalised mining industry. In 1919, the Sankey Commission, whose recommendations the Cabinet had pledged to carry out in letter and in spirit, recommended nationalisation of the coal mines. Their pledge was broken. Since then things have gone from bad to worse in the mining industry because of the deadening, suffocating effect of continued private ownership.

But all these prospects of the year 1945, as well as the speedy winning of victory, will be realised only upon one condition.

That condition is unity. Unity of the working-class; unity of the international Trade Union organisations that may be born this month. Unity of all the democratic and progressive forces within each country, and not least in Britain. Such unity as this is the condition.

Not only the General Election can be won, but a new Britain guaranteed, made up of a generation of men and women freed from fear and want, and whose feet are on the path to Socialism.

R. COPPOCK

(General Secretary, National Federation of Building Trade Operatives)

ALTHOUGH the general view is that 1945 will see the end of the European war it will not be possible for peacetime industries to revert to their normal activities. The building industry, among others, will no doubt remain shorn of a substantial portion of its personnel and will be in special difficulty because of the enormous amount of physical reconstruction work which calls for urgent attention.

When the country was in dire danger in the early days of the war all kinds of lavish promises or half promises were held out to the workers — from "Atlantic Charter" to "Beveridge." But with the clear recession of danger one sees the old political game being played, the Tories damping down enthusiasm for change with their customary pleas for economy and warnings of national bankruptcy if any kind of advanced social legislation is attempted.

The outlook for building of all kinds —new, renovation, repairs—is so serious that the industry will not be able to cope with the demands made on it if there is no radical departure from pre-war practices. It should be patent to everyone that a casualised industry is totally unable to deal with the urgent post-war problems with which the industry will be faced. But unless the Government is imbued with a sense of urgency to the extent of translating fair words into effective practice and takes the industry into its confidence, the rehabilitation of the country will suffer a setback.

All kinds of interests are now at work to prevent the building industry from exercising its normal function of building. Under the plea of urgency, methods and techniques are being introduced which do not serve the true interests of the people. Sub-standard houses (for the workers only, of course), are being, or are proposed to be, built, but these touch only the fringe of the problem involved in the acute housing shortage and will indeed, in the long run, only intensify present difficulties.

Even in the pre-war days of our casualised industry, with its permanent annual average unemployment figure varying, according to season, from ten to twenty per cent., the industry proved capable of producing 350,000

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

houses in a year in addition to other structures. For some years after the war the industry will be seriously depleted of personnel, but I hold that, in spite of this, it is capable of meeting the housing demands of the people if house-building is accorded first priority and if the industry is so organised as to enable it to function as an efficient industrial unit, subject only to such control as ensures it an adequate provision of manpower and materials and the elimination of speculation.

This adequate provision need not mean a peacetime personnel of a million, but half a million, all of whom must be assured a full guaranteed week's work and pay for fifty-two weeks in the year. A house per man per year was the pre-war rate: half a million persons engaged on house construction thus allow for half a million houses—and a good deal more if rational methods are followed and a greater degree of standardisation introduced.

We may be fairly certain that all kinds of interests will obtrude themselves and attempt to veto any sensible proposal for reconstruction. The "May Committee" attitude is very much with us.

The reforms introduced into the industry under the stress of battle—such as the guaranteed week, for instance—prove that workers can and do give of their best when they see a clear need for an all-out effort. With only a third to a half of their normal number the workers met all the prodigious demands made on them by the Government, and are equally prepared to make such an effort to meet peacetime necessities.

Unfortunately, we can expect an amount of prejudice against us which will impede progress. The present muddle in repair work, causing workers to remain idle, is giving rise to indignant letters to the press blaming building operatives for the delay in getting the job done.

The Government has the means of forming the closest contact with the industry through the numerous committees which have been established, but prefers to make decisions on its own. It is true the committees are no more than advisory, but advice is not necessarily accepted.

I would say the outlook for 1945 is promising if deeds follow on the line of declared intentions, if the workers themselves accept with warlike enthusiasm the equally urgent tasks of peace time reconstruction, and make their demands effective through a sense of political consciousness and action.

I believe the anti-social interests absorbed in speculation are still powerful, and that it is up to us all as workers to keep a very watchful eye on affairs to see that they take a proper direction.

ALFRED W. BURROWS

(Organising Secretary, National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers)

IF, as seems likely, the war in Europe should end in the early part of 1945, it behoves all sections of the organised labour movement to prepare for what has been well described as the "Clash of Peace."

As a movement we have criticised the Coalition Government because it was slow in putting forward its post-war plans. To many it seemed as if peace would find us just as unready as the war in 1939 had done. What, then, are *our* plans for the struggle which will as surely follow the military war as night follows day?

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the struggle against Fascism there has been demanded the greatest "Unity" in order that as a nation our maximum effort might be exerted. The one cry has been "Everyone behind the Government" in its prosecution of the war, and the results are to be seen in the statistics which have just been issued relating to the war effort of the United Kingdom.

With the end of the European war it is expected that a General Election will be held, and that Churchill will lead those valiant champions of democracy—the Tory Party—in that fight. Whatever their differences are, at the election they will be solidly united in the fight to preserve their privileges and their power, including the right to exploit others.

What of the working-class movement? Will it be split by differences of "isms" and "asms," or will it present a united front to the common enemy?

It is well to recall the bitter internal feud which took place inside organised religious bodies over such important questions as to whether "Amen" should be said or sung. Of course we laugh at this, but it would seem of late that the labour movement has almost improved on that. Heresy-hunting has become a very popular pastime in some quarters. The crying need for 1945 is for greater unity both on the political and the industrial side. If, at the coming General Election, the labour movement is split into warring factions—what hopes of victory have we? What will the men and women in the Services say to us if this happens? Will they not regard it as betrayal of their trust? It will be small wonder if they do. If there is one thing above all others which interests the Service men and women it is "What is to happen to us when we are demobbed?" They have a right to expect that the labour movement will fight its hardest to secure the right to a decent life for all. They will not expect us to fritter away our prospects of victory because we are bickering over minor matters.

Remember, whoever won the internal religious struggle, whether "Amen" was sung or said, organised religion lost. Of course, there will be differences between us on method, for, thank goodness, we are not sheep, but if we are fighting for the same objective, then let us become an army and fight the common foe.

The Trade Union movement as a whole must look ahead and face the difficulties which will confront it: that task the T.U.C. must perform. Each individual Union, however, must prepare its post-war policy, having full regard to its own particular needs.

In the distributive and allied trades the crying need is for a greater unity amongst the Unions catering for these workers. With three or four Unions covering this field there is inevitably wasteful overlapping and competition and I would therefore give priority to the need for consolidating our forces into one large organisation to cover this field. It would then be able to speak on behalf of all in these trades, with an authority lacking today. Efforts are at present being made to achieve this object. That they may succeed is the earnest wish of the writer.

HARRY ADAMS

(President, Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers)

THE coming year will, in my view, be the most fateful and important in the history of the labour movement. It will be a year fraught with hard struggles in industry and politics. But it can be a year of measureless opportunity if those charged with leadership will rise superior to the differences and sectional prejudices that have divided the movement in the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

past and by uniting the workers give them inspiration to march onward to achieve their historic task of creating a classless society.

The universal surge of the tide leftwards, the growth of understanding among the workers consequent on their experiences during the period before the war and the years during which the conflict has raged is such that no power on earth can prevent the triumph of Labour, the decisive break from capitalism to socialism.

Before 1945 is out we have every reason to hope that the war in Europe will end and the principal fortress of Fascism will be shattered.

Peace will herald the release of the peoples of Europe, Britain included, from the restraints of war, the laws imposed for reasons of security, the iron bonds of militarism and many other factors which have held the people down and then their accumulated needs and discontents will find explosive expression. All the pent-up feelings arising from the welter of chaos and mismanagement associated with capitalism will find voice.

The workers will also remember how the ruling class in this country encouraged Fascism and refused to accept opportunities to build a bloc of democratic and peace-loving countries against aggression.

They will also have in mind the victorious revolution of the Russian workers and peasants leading to the establishment of the Soviet Union and later to the glorious exploits of the Red Army during the war. They will know that the victory over Fascism has been accomplished by the wonderful achievements of the peoples of the allied countries on the field of battle and in the production of all the necessities for prosecuting the war to that victorious end.

The lesson will be plain and unmistakable. War was the result of a system of society based upon exploitation and profit, upon greed and lust for power. Peace can only be made secure by such a change in our economic, social and political structure as will ensure that the interests of the common people are the overriding consideration.

In these circumstances complete unity and the bold use of the power so created will be the prerequisite site of such a change.

Our first task following the cessation of hostilities in Europe will be to strengthen the ties between the peoples brought together by the impact of war and eliminate war as a means of settling differences between countries.

Our next task, only possible if peace is secured, will be to re-establish and rebuild civilisation.

Houses must be built by the million. Provision must be made for all the amenities necessary for decent existence. Industry must be reorganised and extended to give an increase in the production of the necessities of life and greater opportunities for recreation and leisure and the development of education and culture.

All these things can be done if we are determined to have unity.

In my presidential address to the National Delegate Conference of the A.U.B.T.W. in September I said:—

In the background of the war is the social revolution. In every country involved in the struggle and most emphatically in those countries most deeply involved, we see the working people marching towards Socialism. We would be blind to the new opportunities if we here in Britain failed to respond to the upsurge which is coming in Europe, in the world generally. Intelligent, aspiring humanity is making a profound movement forward.

If we do see and use our opportunities "the outlook for 1945" should be bright.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lessons of the Labour Conference

by HARRY POLLITT

THE programme adopted at the December Conference of the Labour Party represents the appeal it will make to public opinion at the next General Election; but the issue that immediately arises is how far the Labour Party Conference equipped the movement to win a majority of the people to its support.

The Labour Party Conference did not develop the steps that are necessary to organise the whole form of the organised labour movement, to carry its own policy into practice, because its discussions were divorced from the background of the war and the political activities, and took place in a world that was far removed from the grim realities facing millions of our men in the armed forces all over the world.

One felt this most strongly during the discussions on election policy and post-war settlement. On the first, the lead given by Arthur Greenwood was declared by one delegate, to loud applause, as being "tepid, insipid and lacking in leadership." The discussion never once faced up to the really tremendous task that Labour will have to face at any General Election taking place between the end of the war in Europe and the opening of great new offensives against Japan, if it is to win the votes of the majority of the electorate. It was naturally overshadowed by the crisis in Greece, but this was no excuse for either the platform, or those delegates who were seriously concerned with winning power, to allow any other issue to rob the debate on General Election policy of its true importance.

The reply to the debate by James Walker, M.P., was confined to vulgarities and a coarseness which left every urgent political, tactical and electoral problem unsolved.

The known decisions of some of the most powerful Trade Unions in the country cannot be swept on one side in this way. The platform, working in close conjunction with the Standing Orders Committee, may think that by the clever and complicated way they manoeuvred the discussion on a united electoral agreement, enabled them to avoid awkward hurdles, but time will show that they have only succeeded in erecting bigger ones!

One speaker in this debate used a phrase that explains a lot of the doubt and confusion that exists in the Labour Party. Referring to the Executive Committee statement on the Electoral Policy, the speaker declared, to the applause of the Conference, that it "had already had an effect throughout the labour movement. They had begun to see the end of the long period of servitude, and life in local Labour Parties had begun to stir again."

What a gift to the Tories this expression of the role of Labour in the National Government is! To have served in a Coalition Government in the historic struggle against fascism, to have been responsible for developing policies and strategy, that have, in unity with the Soviet Union and America, brought victory in sight, is a "period of servitude." It means that Labour claims no part in this victory, that to have mobilised all its resources as Labour has done to crush fascism, that bestial force whose aim was to crush Labour, means only a "period of servitude," and the Tory Party are left in the field to claim the entire credit for having won the war. It is the very position they are hoping to establish when the General Election takes place!

During the discussion on Post-War Settlement other expressions were used which only succeed in strengthening

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the hands of the Tories. One speaker after another made speeches in which for them German fascism has already been wiped out, without any possibility of any further come-backs or struggles. Indeed, they all expressed more concern for the "poor Germans" than for any of the victims of German aggression; and this exhibitionism reached its highest point when they yelled their disapproval of the very modest suggestion that the Germans should be made to give land to those Dutch farmers whose lands have been deliberately flooded with sea water and rendered unfit for cultivation for years to come by the Nazis in their retreat from Holland.

The policy of the National Government in Greece overshadowed everything else at the Conference. You felt it immediately you entered the Conference hall on the first day of the proceedings. Instead of the leadership allowing the conference to express its real opinion and embodying it in resolution form, they permitted the introduction of all sorts of bogies to scare the delegates into believing they were going to let the Labour Ministers in the Government down, the assumption being that these Ministers had fought against Churchill's policy. It transpired from Mr. Ernest Bevin's speech that the Labour Ministers were in full-blooded agreement with Churchill's policy and were parties to it. The result of this will manifest itself at the General Election.

When the debate opened, it was very reminiscent of the debate at the Edinburgh Labour Party Conference in 1936 on Spain, only in reverse. At Edinburgh the aim of the leadership was to scare the delegates against voting to end the alleged policy of non-intervention in Spain, by stating in pseudo-confidence "what they knew on the inside." At the London Conference the aim was to prevent any real mobilisation of the labour movement to succeed in forcing, not a change in Government, but a change in Government policy to end armed intervention against Greek democracy.

But it was in this debate that one got the impression of the real feelings of the labour movement. Here are people who could move mountains if they were given the right leadership and a policy that would give them full confidence that it could win the support of the majority of the people. The feelings displayed in the debate on Greece revealed that the movement can be made so strong and united that, if the leadership knew how to use it, the policy of the Government on Greece could be changed now, and the Government itself changed at the General Election.

But what of the future of the Labour Party? We ask this question because so much of what took place in December will by this time only be of value to the historian. Events will change so rapidly, such tremendous military struggles and political changes will occur in Europe, that only a deliberately blind person would believe that the Labour Party will not be compelled to approach these problems entirely differently from the way it did in December, 1944.

The first thing to remember at every stage of the many developments that will take place is that winning the war comes first. Everything has to be placed against the gigantic military struggles. Remember the feelings of the millions who are going into action, to face death or be maimed for life, that we may live. Everything else is secondary to this. Consciously to develop a political crisis at this stage of the war is to play into the hands of the Nazis, and to create doubt and confusion amongst the armed forces. But this is not to say that no pressure has to be exerted on the Government to see that Labour's policy is carried through. It needs to be organised with

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the strength and conviction behind it that Labour has made the greatest contribution and sacrifice for victory, and it is not going to see the common people robbed of the fruits of victory because the Tories place their reactionary interests before those of the nation as a whole.

Secondly, when the armistice has been signed, the fascists will go over to illegal forms of struggle against democracy and the United Nations. They will use their business, political and religious connections to prevent a peace that is a lasting peace, removing the terror and scourge of war for generations to come. This demands neither a Vansittart nor a "Tribune" peace, but a just and stern peace, such a one will be supported by all that is best in the ranks of the German people. We have to be on guard against the circulation of neo-fascist ideas in new forms and guises; because reaction never gives up.

Thirdly, after all the bitter experiences of fascism throughout Europe, the new states and governments now slowly evolving will experience many difficulties and set-backs. Europe is in the process of giving birth to these new states and governments. Britain's function is not to help produce abortions and miscarriages, but strong, healthy new governments that rest on the new democracy born out of the agony and travail of a Europe fighting for freedom. When the General Elections take place in the European countries, they will produce many surprises. Then, too, we shall need to be on guard against the attempts of reactionaries at home and abroad to try and prevent the will of the people prevailing, especially when votes for the policy of the Communist Parties reach, as they will, such great proportions.

The new conception of democracy that is being born all over the world is based upon the desire of millions to give everything, use all their initiative and talent, in the fight to destroy fascist oppression and its collaborators. This it is which has brought out to the full from millions of unknown people, the organising ability, discipline and talent upon which the new states in Europe will be founded.

The peoples of Europe, after their fearful experiences, are not proceeding simply to restore the "old liberal democratic Italy," the "old liberal democratic France"; for it was the weakness of this kind of democracy that in the end gave birth to fascism. The new form of democratic advance is the national democratic front, based on the rooting out from all positions of power and influence all those who collaborated with fascism, and the creation of a new democratic government supported by millions and carrying out their policy.

The British and American people are responsible for seeing that those who act in their name in Europe recognise these facts, that they give no quarter to the old bad forces, that they learn to distinguish between the fascist and the anti-fascist, and that they rely firmly on the power of the new anti-fascist democracy, and do not try to keep it down as "too radical," "too Red."

Remember that to the Tories, the workers are always heroes when they are fighting and dying in wars, or rescuing their comrades in mining disasters, but as soon as they seek to defend democracy against pro-fascism, or come out on strike to prevent a reduction of their standards of life, they immediately become the "mob."

Fourthly, there is urgent need to use every minute at the disposal of the labour movement for the next General Election, whether it comes in spring, summer or autumn. The labour movement is not ready to face this supreme political test now. The Labour Party Conference was the best proof of that.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is no real understanding of the character of the fight that will take place at the General Election. It is the most fateful in all our history. We shall face, not only such issues as Housing, Full Employment, National Insurance and all the other burning issues of work, wages and security, but also lasting peace, the avoidance of a new war, the political and moral destruction of fascism, the whole future of world humanity and very serious possibilities of the advance towards the conquest of power and the establishment of Socialism. Because of all these indivisible and vital issues, it will be fought more unscrupulously than any other General Election. Remember also that the General Election will take place at the end of the war in Europe and the beginning of the last struggles against Japan. Let anyone ponder over the significance of the soldiers' votes for President Roosevelt in the recent election there, and at once they will grasp the importance of this fact in the minds of the millions of men and women in the armed forces.

Some of the existing confusion in the Labour Party is due to the fact that the political intentions of certain Labour leaders are not yet fully known, there is too much gossip and doubt about where some of them stand. The sooner there is complete confidence on this point, the better for the Labour Party.

We shall waste no time speculating on either the name or the composition of the Government that will be formed after the General Election, but we certainly know the basis upon which the new Government comes to power. It must have an overwhelming majority of Labour and progressive Members of Parliament behind it. Labour must hold the key positions, whatever other adjustments are necessitated by the exigencies of the situation. There are already many in the leadership of the Labour Party who know such a position will arise, but, like Brer Rabbit, "they lie low and say nuffin." The political aim in the General Election is crystal clear; it is to end a Tory majority. To do that is easier said than done, with the Labour Party in its present position.

If the Tory and Labour Parties place 600 candidates in the field, the Liberal Party 500, the Communist Party 50 and Common Wealth 60, then it is a gift to the Tory Party, as every honest student of politics will admit. It would be a fight in a very difficult situation with all sorts of new problems to be faced, and on the basis of an electoral system heavily biased in favour of returning a Tory Government with a minority of votes, but a majority of seats through three-cornered contests.

The Communist Party wants to avoid such a situation. It has made its proposals to discuss the position with the Labour Party. These are supported by the Miners Federation, Amalgamated Engineering Union, Electrical Trades Union, Fire Brigades Union, National Society of Painters, National Union of Vehicle Builders and Associated Society of Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen. Mr. Walker, M.P., will have to think twice before he can describe these Trade Unions—the cream of the Labour Party—one of which pays twice as much money into the Labour Party than any other Trade Union, as "blackmailers." It is also supported by thousands of national and district Trade Union officials, who are all deeply desirous of ending Tory rule and know that, given unity in the ranks of the labour movement, it can be ended.

The leaders of the Labour Party would do well to remember that before they can win the confidence of the electorate they have to be sure they have won the confidence of their own membership, and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from evident at its recent Party Conference.

Fifthly, the Trade Unions have to take a more deep and positive interest in the leadership and policy of the Labour Party. The present unhealthy competition between the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress should be brought to an end. Some Trade Unions are not sending their best men on to the Labour Party Executive Committee. They are not discussing sufficiently seriously the agenda for Labour Party conferences and putting down the appropriate resolutions. We want the most effective combination possible between workers by hand and brain, but this will not be achieved by the present struggles between Trade Union leaders and intellectuals, or Trade Union leaders and politicians. Nevertheless, so long as the Labour Party has its present constitutional basis, and relies so much on Trade Union money, the Trade Unions have the duty of setting the lead in the way they help to formulate and fight for their policy at the Labour Party conferences and bring their most capable leaders forward to act on their behalf on the Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

The contrast between some of the representatives of the Trade Unions on the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and on the Labour Party Executive Committee, speaks for itself.

The Trade Unions have also a duty to democracy in their own ranks. There is not a single Trade Union leader in the country who can deny that where members of the Communist Party are in leading official positions they are in the forefront in the fight to increase the number of trade unionists paying the political levy. There are [illegible]rade Unions from which the Labour [illegible]y is now receiving more money [illegible]er before in its history, because members of the Communist Party hold elected national positions.

Yet members of the Communist Party are denied the right to represent their Trade Unions on local and divisional Labour Parties, or at the national conferences of the Labour Party, and are denied the right to go on the Parliamentary panel of the Trade Unions. It is a position that needs to be ended in the best interests of the Labour Party itself. If Arthur Horner is capable of representing the Trades Union Congress at the American Federation of Labour Convention, and the Trades Union of the Latin-American Republics, he has the right to be allowed to represent the miners at the Labour Party Conference.

The trade unionists also have the right to a voice as to which of their members shall be put forward for the General Council of the Labour Party Executive Committee, as there is a similar need for ending the method of bargaining as to which Trade Unions are going to vote for various nominees on the General Council and the Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

These are all elementary democratic measures which the urgency of the situation and the interests of the Labour Party demand should be put into operation as quickly as possible.

Finally, and above all, there is the greatest need for strengthening the Labour Party itself. If ever any arguments were needed to prove how urgently the Labour Party needed the Communist Party (apart from the admissions of Herbert Morrison in his Huddersfield speech) they were provided at the Labour Party Conference itself.

The dissolution of the Communist Party would not be a success for unity, but a defeat for unity. We do not want to obtain unity with the Labour Party by back-door methods, by apologising for being Marxists and Communists.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What is needed is the recognition of two things. First that the Communist Party has something vital to contribute to the Labour Party, and that we can all work together without necessarily having to agree on every detail. The main thing is to unite and work for the common people and reach general agreement on what has to be done. We will maintain that fight and win that fight.

Second, that the Labour Party and the movement need the Communist Party, need Marxism, not on sufferance, but for the contribution which our Party can make. Our all-sided organisation of work in every field for a single objective, the uniting of agitation and propaganda, the leadership of political and economic struggles and the understanding of social changes and how to organise them—all these represent a contribution that is new and essential in the development of the labour movement.

The Labour Party needs the Communist Party in order that new members can be won for the Labour Party, Trade Unions, Co-operatives and the Communist Party, so that the movement can go forward in advancing the interests of the working people, in the teaching of Socialism and the constant fight for new mass developments towards its achievement, to strengthen the bonds of international solidarity between the workers of the world, and to help lay the basis through which can ultimately be created one single working-class political party in every land.

There is need for a great mass recruiting campaign for the Labour Party, the utilisation of every modern resource of propaganda to make its general line of policy known, for the whole country to be stirred by the message of a strong and united labour movement, for a great increase in its finances through the conscious payment of the political levy, for new leaders to be given their chance, for the Executive Committee to have more hatred of capitalism than it has of Communism. Then there will be reality about the fight for power. Then the masses will believe they are in earnest when they talk about a united labour movement. We of the Communist Party, while we will strengthen our own ranks because we know this is also essential to Labour's success, are ready at any time to meet the representatives of the Labour Party to discuss any question associated with the well-being of the labour movement as a whole. But let there be no mistake, there is going to be no question of the dissolution of the Communist Party. As the Labour Party Conference so clearly demonstrated, that would indeed be a crime against both the Labour Party itself and the labour movement.

If the lessons of the London Conference are now seriously discussed, if a new drive for unity and clarity on policy is made, if a common agreement is reached between the Communist Party and the Labour Party, then tremendous new prospects face the working people of this country. Then whenever the special conference of the Labour Party Conference is held, in the light of the situation at home and abroad and the responsibilities that rest upon all of us, we can face with supreme confidence any General Election in the knowledge that with unity in the ranks, unity on programme and candidates and methods of political campaigning, the end of the war against fascism will be followed by ending the rule of the Tory Party in Britain for all time.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Greek Fire

by IVOR MONTAGU

(*This article was written before the Prime Minister's visit to Athens.*—ED. L.M.)

THE British Government action in Greece is approved by: the Tory majority in the House of Commons, Mr. Bevin and (according to Mr. Bevin) the other Labour Party cabinet ministers, the Beaverbrook press and the *Daily Telegraph*, Franco, Salazar, Hearst.

It is contested by: the Labour Party Conference, the Executive, the Administrative Committee of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Liberal Party Executive, the Communist Party, Common Wealth, the immense mass of British public feeling expressed in Trade Unions, factories and practically the entire press (with the above exceptions), not a whit less forcefully in *The Times* than in the *Daily Worker*, the overwhelming mass of the U.S. press, the entire press and popular organisations of liberated Allied territories—France, Belgium, Yugoslavia.

Only the impudent Cairo clique has had the effrontery to dare suggest it could evoke approval in the U.S.S.R.

These two catalogues are sufficient to indicate the gravity of the division resulting from Mr. Churchill's Greek policy and action. Every hour that it is maintained increases the dissension at home in Britain, the mistrust abroad between the United Nations.

If the full extent of the menace is not revealed at once by the names in each catalogue, by the acclaim earned by Mr. Churchill from Salazar and Hearst for the first time since 1941, it emerges from the grounds on which these base it.

Thus *Novidades*, the official Catholic journal in Portugal, praises the British action in Athens as the "undeniable victory of Churchill the defender of order, over Churchill, the ally of [illegible]alin," and speaks of the "moral [illegible]ness of his attitude" in "facing [illegible]urage those of his countrymen who have been won over to Russian alliance against the dearest interests of Britain and civilisation."

These tainted supporters cannot conceal their exultation at a course which can disrupt the Grand Alliance and enable realisation of their cherished dreams of saving fascism.

To justify his Greek policy, Churchill attempted to describe it as the preservation of "law and order" against the menace of "Communist dictatorship," the maintenance of "constitutional Government" against a "minority" of "Communist extremists," the prevention of a "gang of bandits from the mountains," "ruffians seeking to climb into the seats of power" by "*coups d'etat*" and establish "iron rule" with weapons given them by the British Government, which had deserved their gratitude.

(It is worth rehearing these monstrous liberties of language, for the measure of their intemperance gives some idea of the problem).

To recite a few of the rebutting facts:—

There is not, and cannot be, any constitutional government of Greece under present conditions. In 1935 a plebiscite was held in Greece under conditions of terror. The plebiscite was, in any case, fraudulent: this cannot be, and, indeed, never has been, contested. The figures returned showed a ninety per cent. majority for the monarchy, the monarchist votes alone showing a figure one and a half times greater than the *total votes cast* in the general elections that preceded and followed it, both of which gave a majority to the anti-monarchy candidates.

Following the election the King returned, took an oath to govern with Parliament and observe the monar-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chical constitution of 1911 pending the framing of a new constitution, then, within a few months, established a dictatorship, dissolved Parliament and decreed martial law.

Can a king who returns as result of a forged plebiscite be termed the "constitutional authority"? According to what "constitution" is the present so-called Greek Government "constitutional"? According to the monarchical constitution of 1911, which the Greeks democratically replaced by a Republican one and which in any case requires a parliamentary majority to endorse the Government? Or according to the martial law unconstitutionally and forswornly introduced by the King, by which he dissolved Parliament?

Churchill is treating the public as children and ignoramuses in attempting this pretence, in the attempt to disguise that Papandreou's premiership rests on no authority firmer than his (Churchill's) own predilection and appointment.

The national liberation movement, whose political organisation (E.A.M.) and fighting organisation (E.L.A.S.) Mr. Churchill seeks to designate by attachment of a single, red-baiting, party label, is the movement of all Greek popular forces. It includes, not only Communists, but Socialists, Agrarians, Left Liberals, members of a half-dozen Democratic and Republican splinter parties. Apart from the Zervas group in Western Epirus—of which more anon—it includes *all* who fought against the enemy during occupation, not only workers and peasants, but generals, professors and bishops. It is so far nation-wide in its representational character that the army and navy organised abroad, including the detachments that fought side by side with the British in the desert, wholeheartedly supported it, until, for their support of E.A.M., Mr. Churchill had them surrounded by British forces, part purged and part disbanded.

It is true that E.L.A.S. received some of its arms from British sources, but this was some time ago, when British officers working in Greece, in their innocence of Mr. Churchill's real desires, recommended support to it as a strong force against the Germans. But further British aid was refused, as Mr. Eden admits, months ago.

The bulk of E.L.A.S.' arms were, like the arms of any other guerilla army, won from the enemy, from German and Italian sources, and used to such good effect that, when British troops entered Greece, far from liberating the country, they found it already freed and scarcely ever succeeded in making contact with the enemy.

The entire losses of the British army in entering Greece in 1944—killed, wounded and missing—are given by Mr. Churchill (December 14) as 300, a sufficient proof that, under the threat of the Soviet offensive across the Balkans to the north and the harrying of E.L.A.S., the Germans had already left.

Far from seeking dictatorship, it is E.A.M. and E.L.A.S. which, despite their controlling position, have again and again taken the initiative in calling for a united government, broader than their own basis (the mutiny of the Greek forces in the Middle East was due to Mr. Churchill's then pet premier Tzouderos's refusal of this unity) and even after hostilities in the Athens area they put forward the same demand.

Far from seeking to remain armed, it is E.A.M. and E.L.A.S. which called for *all-round* disarmament. Far from the British troops "restoring order," there was not a shot fired in disor[illegible] before General Scobie's proclam[illegible] on December 1.

At the moment when Mr [illegible] was describing E.A.M. a[illegible]

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ty,'' the Greek liberation movement was, in actual fact, administering almost the whole of Greece, and a fortnight of the best efforts of British troops, supplemented by tanks and aircraft, and strengthened by reinforcements, has contrived to establish an uneasy control over less than a fifth of Athens.

In various quarters there is talk of Churchill having been ''misled'' or ''misinformed.''

It is true that, when a man in Mr. Churchill's position has made it very plain what he wants to hear about a certain subject, that is all he does hear. Contrary evidence is sidetracked or burked, and those who proffer it discredited as ''under Communist influence.'' This is what happened to all who offered information on Hitler's real character and preparations in the good old days of Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Churchill is in such a position in respect to Greece.

Cairo has become the centre of all that is villainous—anti-Soviet colonels, neurotic staff officers in terror of the Forces' Parliament, Yugo-slav traitors and war criminals, Greek fascists, Bulgarian and Rumanian concessiontouts, mad Poles, Turk contacts with the enemy.

We are paying for Cairo now, for the purges of progressives, for the lectures to the troops maligning the patriot armies, for the public school officers who look on captured German commanders as fit table-companions, and rejoice at the new war against a ''native rabble'' not clever enough to be able to hit back with tanks and bombing planes, hostilities so much more familiar and more comforting than the forgotten war against Hitler.

It is true that this galley has a vested interest in proving to Mr. Churchill a justification for these fears that account for its existence—but, they owe their existence to Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Churchill's concern to secure the Mediterranean route in relation to the interests and needs of the British Empire is understandable.

Unfortunately, in pursuing his objective in the Mediterranean Mr. Churchill's peculiarities of temperament stand in the way of achieving it.

Mr. Churchill cannot conceive a secure relationship between a large country and a small, save on the basis of a privileged clique, drawn from the class of person he might cut as a bridge partner, and tied to him by loan and subsidy. The idea of a friendship based on mutual benefit of peoples, cemented by a gratitude for help in liberation and development, is beyond him. Indeed, the more unrepresentative the ruling clique in question, according to his calculation, the better, for the more it will be dependent upon British backing.

Mr. Churchill pretends that his end-object is the installation of a government in Greece chosen by free and fair vote of the Greek people. This may sound all right to innocent British ears, but less adequate assurance to the Greeks, who have grave experience of voting under circumstances of terror and fraud, and who see the practitioners of this terror, the beneficiaries of the fraud, basking unrebuked in the sunshine of Mr. Churchill's favour.

Why, they ask, has Mr. Churchill never pressed the King for an unequivocal pledge that he will not return before that fair new plebiscite? Why did the Great Democrat stand so long solidly behind a king and cabinet who were partners in dictatorship and terror? Why, instead of supporting E.L.A.S. in accordance with his pledge of June 22, 1941 (''any man or State who fights against Hitlerism will have our aid''), did the British inject the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adventurer Zervas* and his mercenaries into the situation? Why did the British permit the King to evade seeing and answering the E.A.M. delegates who flew to Cairo with the approval and help of the British officers who worked with them, to ask for unity? Why did Mr. Churchill go out of his way to make excuses for the "Security Battalions" formed by the Germans to fight the liberation movement and discourage the speed-up of proceedings against the collaborating politicians of the Right (again contradiction of speech of June 22, 1941: "Any man or State who marches with Hitler is our foe. This applies not only to organised States, but to all representatives of that vile race of quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi regime against their fellow-countrymen . . . these quislings . . . if not disposed of by their fellow-countrymen—which would save us trouble—will be delivered by us on the morrow of victory to the Allied tribunals")? Why did the British insist on immediate dissolution of the liberation forces, when there are numerous German garrisons still remaining in the archipelago, against whom they and the British together could be most profitably employed? Why, when even Papandreou was acceding to the general request that *all* resistance groups without exception be disarmed, did the British Command suddenly intervene and forbid disarmament of the Mountain Brigade and Sacred Battalion—drawn from the very types of officers and reactionaries who had imposed the pre-war dictatorship, under pretext that they are "regulars"? Why, when, on December 1, the parties were discussing the consequences of this intervention, did Scobie intervene again at 7 p.m. with a broadcast (repeated in thousands of leaflets) attacking E.L.A.S. and threatening to withdraw food if the Government were not supported?

Why was Papandreou advised to call at 8 p.m. a rump cabinet, with E.A.M. ministers absent, issue a decree calling for disarmament of E.L.A.S. but *not* of the Mountain Brigade and Sacred Battalion, and demand the E.A.M. ministers' signatures to the decree promulgated in their absence, thus forcing their resignations? Why did Papandreou first allow, then forbid at the last moment, leaving the city and making himself inaccessible, the demonstration of December 3 at which the police fired on the unarmed crowd? Why did the British authorities not intervene at this massacre, but intervene when, two days later, E.L.A.S. tried to disarm the murderous police? Why did Scobie hasten then to give a blank cheque to the "civil power," consisting at that time only of Papandreou, the non-resistance movement ministers and these same police, the agents of torture and repression not only alongside the Gestapo, but during the years of the King's dictatorship? Why did Mr. Churchill forbid Papandreou's resignation and the negotiations to seek a political solution? Why did Scobie order the British troops to attack E.L.A.S., while they themselves were not attacked? Why did Sco' answer E.A.Ms.' request for ne tions with the demand for u tional surrender? Why did h distribution of food in S

*Zervas, sometimes called a "rightist" or "Royalist," is as much and as little a Royalist as the King's old shoe. All Greece knows him as a figure of no political colour whatever, who has served at least a half-dozen would-be dictators and dictators, republican or royalist. He serves whomsoever pays him, and now serves the British Government, who called him into being so as to be able to picture the resistance movement as "divided," consisting of "ri ht" as well as "left," and thus besmirch the national character of the national liberation movement.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where, where all was still quiet? y, under pretext that they are not oners-of-war, have E.L.A.S. men tured by the British forces been ded over to the mercies of the ist police?

t is not unreasonable that when ek democracy sees in Mr. Churchill from whose lips has never dropped word of reproof for past dictator- or electoral fraud in Greece, who lays obvious partiality for those transacted it, and who seeks to rm the democrats while leaving issolved the police and bands of dictatorship, they should want er assurance than his promise.

fter all, they have already had ex- ence of a not very creditable ma- uvre—permission for the introduc- into Greece of the British forces are now fighting against them, ived under pretext that they would t against the Germans, and the de- iciation of E.L.A.S. as "rebels" "mutineers" on the pettifogging law ground that, after subordinat- themselves to Scobie for the com- on fight to expel the Germans, they not obey him when he ordered dis- ament with the Germans not yet gether expelled.

Well, what now? "What began as a police operation has become a battle, which is not going too well, and threatens to become a war," warns *The Times* of December 14. "The decisive test of any policy is its efficacy; and the attempt to establish law and order by means of the Papandreou Government, backed by British arms . . . has been a failure."

The conclusion follows inevitably, in the terms of the same article from *The Times*: "The National Provisional Government of any liberated country, in justice and expediency alike, must be built around the active and mostly turbulent resistance movement, which has kept the flame of nationhood alight under enemy occupation, privation and terror. Its head must be a man accepted by and active in resistance. Its members must comprise a majority of resisters. Its policies and programme must be those which have been worked out, close to realities, in the fighting underground." (*Times*, December 14.)

It is the responsibility of the labour movement and the people of this country to see that this policy is carried out quickly. Mr. Churchill must be stopped from playing any further with Greek fire.

Publications Received

KS

Opinion and the Last Peace by R. B. McCallum (O.U.P., 10*s*6*d*, 214 pp.).

PHLETS

the Fascist by Sam Wild (International Brigade Association, 3*d*, 12 pp.).
Who in the Red Army by E. G. Burroughs (R.T.D., 6*d*, 20 pp.).
Russia and the Baltic Republics by David Farr (R.T.D., 1*s*, 52 pp.).
my Men and their Dependants by Eleanor Fox (R.T.D., 3*d*, 16 pp.).
Soviet Relations and the Future by Reginald Bishop (R.T.D., 3*d*, 16 pp.).
German Miner (Foreword by Abe Moffat) by Kurt Gruber (Nat. Union of Scot. Mineworkers, 16 pp.).
row's Children (Tory Reform Committee, 1*s*, 32 pp.).
Pamphlet on Indian Affairs: The Food Supply, No. 8 by Radhakamal Mukerjee (O.U.P., 9*d*, pp.).
l Income and Expenditure by J. E. Meade and Richard Stone (O.U.P., 2*s*, 36 pp.).
Questions and Answers. Workers Pocket Series No. 13 by W. H. Thompson and O. H. Parsons D., 3*d*, 21 pp.).

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GUARANTEE FUND—*Continued from page II. of cover*

a prospective deficit (sale of old stocks, of bound volumes and other minor assets) cannot be repeated.

We therefore make this urgent appeal to our readers, to keep the fund at or above the £100 level, throughout the year 1945.

—*EDITORIAL BOARD.*

LABOUR MONTHLY GUARANTEE FUND

Amount received in December, 1944 : £76 : 3 : 3

	£	s.	d.
G. M. Bussy		7	0
B. Farringdon		3	0
H. F. List		1	0
A. Orba		3	0
J. Matthews		4	6
G. Ramsay		2	6
H. Lynford		3	0
B. Stevens		2	6
G. Sargent		5	0
W. Burbridge		2	6
M. J.		5	6
C. Franks		3	0
A. Ireland		3	0
S. Hunter		8	0
L. P. M. M.		13	0
H. R. Prothero		3	0
D. W. Smith		3	0
D. Maccoby		3	0
E. Gillett		10	0
D. Brenner		7	0
S. Taylor		3	0
C. D. Mathie		14	0
W. Stonard		2	0
G. M. Driver	1	0	0
G. Burleigh		3	0
Radio Mech.,R.E.M.E.		3	0
E. Wynburne		3	0
Dutch Merchant Seaman	1	0	0
D. H. Strathern & Friends		10	0
N. Hopton		2	6
D. Hare	1	0	0
J. E. Brown		3	0
XYZ		10	0
H. Horinsky		3	0
L. Heywood		3	0
E. W. Carter		13	0
J. P. Ellis		3	6
D. A. H.		8	0
Forces, per D. A. H.	1	0	0
R. Atkins		8	0
C. Wagg		5	6
M. Devine		3	0
E. J. Stout		5	0
D. Robinson		3	0
F. Gough		5	0
G. Robson		5	0
E. V. Brown		1	0
C. Wrench		3	0
W. Hecht		3	0
J. A. Purton	1	0	0
H. Criddle	5	0	0
J. Gibson		5	0
M. Freedman		5	0
Lower Morden D.G.		5	0
C. Aldous		3	0
I. Martin		5	0
M. Desai		3	0
J. Burnip		5	0
W. Thomas		3	0
H. Rosen		14	0
R. Sleep		2	6
J. A. Cave		5	0
T. H. Phillips		3	0
J. W. Turner		4	0
M. K. Wood		3	0
E. Rogers		14	0
J. Fernie		5	0
Old Age Pensioner		2	0
R. Mecredy		10	0
J. Rees		3	0
F. Browne		3	0
F. Renouf		2	6
Mr. & Mrs. Humphries		2	6
W. Lakin-Smith		6	0
M. Hodds			6
J. McQueen		3	0
J. L. Nicholson		3	0
E. Parker		3	0
J. B. Pyatt		3	0
Penrith D.G.		5	0
W. Hitchcock		5	0
S. Mill		10	0
P. Andrews	1	0	0
A. Taylor		13	0
J. B.		5	0
Office Worker		10	0
D. Rees		10	0
Druzya Uchitiellya		12	0
R. Somen		3	0
Learner		2	0
R. Hacker		1	6
G. Morey		5	0
D. Gardner		2	0
K. M. G., Ex-Rhodesia		2	6
Anon, Whitchurch		1	0
J. R. St. John		3	0
C. Burr			6
H. Griffin		2	6
E. Goldsworthy		10	0
H. Hodson		10	0
R. Lane		1	0
W. S. Taylor		3	0
S. G. Nowell		1	6
C. Craven		3	0
Eric and Norah		10	0
S. H. Moore		3	0
H. M. Sloan		3	0
E. M. Thomas		3	0
J. Rattray		2	6
Eight of the Boys		10	0
H. S. M.		2	6
E. B. Henry		1	0
J. P. Ellis		5	0
L. D. Clark	1	15	0
F. Souter			6
G. Frood		3	0
J. Scott		6	6
H. E. C.	1	3	0
G.E & M. Philibert		10	0
Salud		5	0
T. Fletcher		12	0
A. E. Owen		13	0
Office Worker		3	6
E. D. McCallum		5	0
Sgt. Polly		10	0
R. R. R.	1	0	0
J. Macdonald		5	0
Forces, per D. A. H.	1	0	0
F. Coombes			6
D. Ellward		2	9
G. K.		7	0
L. Bates		10	6
F. M. R.		10	0
B. S. Beezer		3	0
V. R. Pearson		2	6
The Bacon Family		6	0
V.A.D.		5	0
A. Widdop			6
J. Roberts		3	0
L. Barnes		14	0
W. Harries		18	0
Smoke	1	0	0
Edinburgh E. D.G.		12	6
D. B. Halpern		7	0
E. W. Putnam		10	0
Airborne	1	0	0
D. Oakeshott		5	0
A. Bruce		3	0
D. Palmer		13	0
M. Stein		3	0
T. Dewhurst		14	0
W. Sibthorpe		3	0
T. V. Hall			6
L'Humanite		2	0
A. Edwards		8	0
H. Millar		3	0
R. Stevenson		5	0
W. Ellison		3	0
H. Levitt	1	3	0
S. Lawrence		3	0
S. Clegg		10	0
A.T.S. Officer		2	6
W. J. Potter		6	0
G. L. Jones		9	0
J. McLaren		3	0
A. E. Giebler		14	0
F. Marston		3	0
W. H. Miller		13	0
L. Packham		3	0
J. Moller	1	0	0
J. A. Smith		5	0
R. Hart		10	0
J. Tildsley		3	0
D. Rees		10	0
H. A. B.	5	0	0
G. J. Owen		1	6
A. W. Pearce		12	0
W. Watson		1	0
E. Belsey		7	6
E. Reckitt	1	0	0
W. Maddison	1	0	0
T. Z.		2	0
Director	2	0	0
Socialist Sailor	2	10	0
H. Williams	1	0	0

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW ISSUED

A new pamphlet

WAR CRIMINA

by

D. N. PRITT, K.C., M.P.

Price one shilling.

(POST FREE 1/1)

Obtainable everywhere, or direct from the Publishers—

LABOUR MONTHLY, 134 BALLARDS LANE, LONDON

The Reform of LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE

A. N. Silver

A discussion on the main problems facing local authorities, both in the raising and the spending of rates, with suggestions for reforms, by a member of the Hampstead Metropolitan Borough Council.

2/-

LAWRENCE & WISHART

2 Southampton Place, W.C.1.

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134, Ballards Lane, London, N.3.
Evans, Spencer & Co. Ltd., London, E.C.4.

PROTECTED BY COPYRIGHT
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED